

BY WIRE

May 3, 1973

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TO: AMEMBASSY TOKYO

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

FOR AMBASSADOR INGERSOLL FROM HENRY A. KISSINGER *HK*

SUBJECT: Announcement of Prime Minister Tanaka's  
Visit to US

REF: Tokyo 306

1. We have no objection to shifting announcement of Tanaka visit to May 7. We would plan on a simultaneous announcement. (We would release it at our noon briefing on that date, while the GOJ could make the announcement at 8:00 p.m. *Tokyo time* that date, embargoing it for release at 1:00 a.m. *Tokyo time* May 8.)
2. As to length of Tanaka visit here, we appreciate Japanese desire for two-day visit as in case of Kuilima, but this is a detail we will have to work out here first and then take up with them.
3. I appreciate your having secured Ohira's agreement to forego his visit to Washington.
4. Your discussion of Ohira's comment to the press on Japan's invitation to the President and your comments thereon were very helpful. ~~I am inclined to agree that for Tanaka Government to~~

DOS review  
completed  
C05080638

NSC review completed

Warm regards,

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

MEMORANDUM

2398-X

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

April 30, 1973

SECRET/SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. KISSINGER

FROM:

JOHN H. HOLDRIDGE *John H. Holdridge*

SUBJECT:

Announcement of Prime Minister Tanaka's  
Visit to the U. S.

At Tab A is a draft cable from you to Ambassador Ingersoll responding to his cable on the timing of the announcement of Prime Minister Tanaka's visit to the U. S. in late July (Tab B). Your draft response authorizes Ambassador Ingersoll to agree to the Japanese suggestion that the visit be announced on May 7. (The Foreign Office said that our suggested date of May 4 would find both Foreign Minister Ohira and Chief Cabinet Secretary Nikaido out of Tokyo.)

Your draft response also:

-- States that we are considering the GOJ's suggestion that Tanaka's Washington stay be lengthened to two days.

-- Expresses appreciation that Ambassador Ingersoll secured Ohira's agreement to forego his Washington visit to explain the postponement of the Emperor's visit.

-- Expresses appreciation for explanation of Ohira's comment to the press on Japan's invitation to the President to visit Japan. The Foreign Office told Ingersoll that the implication of the New York Times article that the GOJ was indifferent to the President's visit was completely wrong, and that Ohira had been somewhat ambiguous in responding to press queries only in an effort to avoid having the President's visit dragged into the Japanese domestic controversy over postponement of the Emperor's visit. Ambassador Ingersoll found this explanation entirely understandable, although he thought Ohira might have phrased his reply more gracefully.

Recommendation:

That you approve the draft cable to Ambassador Ingersoll at Tab A.

Approve *JK*

Disapprove

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FM TOKYO

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TO THE WHITE HOUSE

S E C R E T SENSITIVE EYES [REDACTED]

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TO: DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER  
FROM: AMBASSADOR ROBERT S. INGERSOLL 306  
SUBJECT: ANNOUNCEMENT OF PRIME MINISTER TANAKA'S VISIT TO U.S.  
REF: WHITE HOUSE 30974

1. I CONVEYED SUBSTANCE PARAS 1 AND 2 OF REFTEL TO FOREIGN MINISTER OHIRA THROUGH AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRGEN OKAWARA AT APPROXIMATELY 1200 HOURS APRIL 27. OKAWARA SUBSEQUENTLY INFORMED ME THAT FOREIGN MINISTER MOST GRATEFUL FOR PROMPT REPLY TO HIS INQUIRY. FOREIGN MINISTER CONCURRED IN POSTPONEMENT OF ANNOUNCEMENT OF PM VISIT AND FULLY APPRECIATES CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PRECLUDE HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FOLLOWING HIS EUROPEAN TRIP.

2. OKAWARA HAS POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT FOREIGN MINISTER WILL NOT RETURN TO JAPAN UNTIL MAY 6 AND CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY NIKAI DO WILL NOT BE IN TOKYO ON MAY 4. THEREFORE, IN ORDER TO INSURE THAT AUTHORIZATIVE SPOKESMAN WILL BE AVAILABLE AT TIME ANNOUNCEMENT MADE, GOJ STRONGLY HOPES THAT ANNOUNCEMENT CAN BE MADE ON OR AFTER MAY 7. OKAWARA GIVEN COPY OF PROPOSED JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO GOJ. I ALSO IMPRESSED ON OKAWARA IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING ANY LEAKS OF AGREEMENT ON DATE FOR PM VISIT AND URGED THAT EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES BE TAKEN TO PREVENT; HE CONCURRED.

3. OKAWARA INQUIRED WHETHER WE HAVE IN MIND FOLLOWING PATTERN OF HONOLULU MEETING, I.E., TWO-DAY VISIT WITH TWO MEETINGS BETWEEN PRINCIPALS AND CONCLUDING WITH ISSUANCE OF JOINT STATEMENT. HE RECALLED THAT PREVIOUS VISITS OF JAPANESE PRIME MINISTERS TO WASHINGTON HAVE GENERALLY BEEN FOR TWO-DAY PERIOD AND FELT THAT FAVORABLE POLITICAL IMPACT OF SUCH VISIT WOULD BE GREATER THAN IN CASE OF SINGLE-DAY VISIT. I SAID THAT THESE WERE DETAILS WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT BUT THAT I WOULD PASS ON HIS THOUGHTS.

4. OKAWARA ALSO TOLD ME THAT HE HOLDING BACKGROUND MEETING WITH PRESS AFTERNOON OF APRIL 27 CONCERNING POSSIBILITY OF FOREIGN MINISTER

\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

HAK, SCOWCROFT, LORD, HOWE

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VISIT TO U.S. FOLLOWING EUROPEAN TOUR. OKAWARA INDICATED HE WOULD RECALL THAT AT PRESS CONFERENCE ON APRIL 24 OHIRA HAD INDICATED HE CONSIDERING SUCH VISIT BUT HAD NOT REACHED FINAL DECISION; THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME INFORMAL SOUNDINGS BUT THAT VISIT NOT FEASIBLE BECAUSE OF SCHEDULING PROBLEMS ON BOTH SIDES; AND THAT NEED FOR SUCH VISIT MUCH LESS NOW THAT PLANS FOR PM VISIT SEEMED BE FIRING UP. WITH RESPECT LAST POINT, I CAUTIONED OKAWARA ABOUT BEING DRAWN INTO DISCUSSION OF PLANNING FOR PM VISIT AND HE AGREED COMPLETELY.

5. WITH RESPECT TO HALLORAN REPORT OF FOREIGN MINISTER OHIRA'S APRIL 25 PRESS CONFERENCE, FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT PREPARED IN RESPONSE OUR REQUEST BY FOREIGN OFFICE FROM TAPED RECORD: Q. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE QUESTION OF EMPEROR'S VISIT HAS BEEN TIED UP OR CONNECTED TO THE VISIT OF AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO JAPAN. IF I CAN GO BACK TO MR. SATO'S ADMINISTRATION, HE SAID THAT A PRESIDENT WOULD NOT VISIT JAPAN UNTIL THE EMPEROR HAD PAID HIS RESPECTS TO THE U.S., AND IT WAS FROM THAT VIEWPOINT THAT AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT WHO WANTED TO COME TO JAPAN OFFERED AN INVITATION TO THE EMPEROR. NOW THAT THE EMPEROR'S VISIT IS EITHER POSTPONED OR CANCELLED, WHAT HAPPENS TO A POSSIBLE VISIT BY A PRESIDENT? DO WE HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL THE EMPEROR, THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO SEND THE EMPEROR TO THE U.S.? A. LET ME SAY THAT IF THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. EXPRESSES HIS SPECIFIC WISH TO VISIT JAPAN AND NOTIFIES US ACCORDINGLY, WE WILL BE MOST HAPPY TO WELCOME HIM. Q. I WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO THE QUESTION OF AN INVITATION TO MR. NIXON. WHY IS THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT SO LUKEWARM IN ACTUALLY EXTENDING AN INVITATION TO AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT? YOU INVITED MR. CHOU EN-LAI, FOR INSTANCE, AT THE FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH HIM. WOULD YOU ACCEPT MR. NIXON'S VISIT IF HE ASKED TO COME? A. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF FLOWS OF WHAT WE CALL THE QUOTE CONSTANT DIALOGUE UNQUOTE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE U.S. THE DIALOGUE IS TAKING PLACE AT ALL LEVELS AND VERY CONSTANTLY. GIVEN THIS SITUATION, WE FEEL THAT WE DON'T NECESSARILY HAVE TO TRY TO DEAL WITH EVERYTHING IN AN EXCESSIVELY FORMALISTIC MANNER. WE CAN SOUND EACH OTHER OUT IN THIS CONSTANT FLOW OF DIALOGUE AND IF WE FIND THAT BOTH SIDES ARE AGREEABLE TO SOMETHING, THEN WE TRY TO FORMALIZE THE THING AND COME TO A FORMAL AGREEMENT ON THIS. SO, IN SHORT, WE ARE NOT TOO CONCERNED TO TAKE A PURELY FORMALISTIC APPROACH IN ALL THIS AND THE POINT THAT WAS RAISED IN THE QUESTION IS REALLY NOT ANYTHING MORE THAN THIS. Q. IF THAT IS TRUE, WHY, WHILE BOTH SIDES HAVE NOT YET AGREED ON THE DATE, HAS THE U.S. EXTENDED A FORMAL INVITATION TO MR. TANAKA TO VISIT THE U.S.? A. THIS IS ANOTHER THING THAT HAS COME UP IN THE FLOW OF THE CONSTANT DIALOGUE THAT I'VE TALKED ABOUT. IT'S NOT ALL THAT FORMAL IN NATURE. Q. IF THE DIALOGUE IS SO CONSTANT, WAS ANY THOUGHT GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENT, IN VIEW OF THE EMPEROR'S VISIT HAVING TROUBLE IN OCTOBER, IN YESTERDAY'S STATEMENT, TO AN INVITATION FOR PRESIDENT NIXON TO VISIT JAPAN? WAS ANY THOUGHT GIVEN TO THIS AND REJECTED, OR WAS NO THOUGHT GIVEN AT ALL?

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A. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I CONCENTRATED ON THE QUESTION OF THE EMPEROR'S VISIT IN YESTERDAY'S STATEMENT.

6. OKAWARA INSISTED THAT INFERENCE WHICH HALLORAN HAD DRAWN FROM OHIRA STATEMENT -- I.E., THAT GOJ DOES NOT PLAN TO EXTEND INVITATION TO PRESIDENT -- AND HIS IMPLICATION THAT GOJ IS INDIFFERENT TO WHETHER THE PRESIDENT VISITS JAPAN WAS COMPLETELY WRONG AND BASELESS. OKAWARA EXPLAINED THAT GOJ CONSIDERS THAT THERE IS OUTSTANDING INVITATION TO PRESIDENT EXTENDED BY AMBASSADOR USHIBA IN DECEMBER 1972 IN CONNECTION WITH DISCUSSION OF POSSIBILITY OF IMPERIAL VISIT TO U.S. HE NOTED THAT FACT OF THIS INVITATION HAS NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC AND THAT FOREIGN MINISTER OHIRA FELT IT INAPPROPRIATE TO DO SO UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS APRIL 24 AND 25 PRESS CONFERENCES WHEN SUCH REVELATION THEN WOULD HAVE BECOME INVOLVED IN QUOTE UNEASY SITUATION UNQUOTE SURROUNDING POSTPONEMENT OF IMPERIAL VISIT. FURTHER, OKAWARA EXPLAINED, FOREIGN MINISTER PROBABLY FELT THAT SINCE INVITATION ALREADY EXTENDED, ANY NEW INITIATIVE FROM JAPAN WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PROPER. OKAWARA STATED THAT GOJ OF COURSE WOULD BE QUITE WILLING TO RECONFIRM ITS PREVIOUS INVITATION IF THAT ADVISABLE (HE INDICATED THAT AMBASSADOR FUSHIBA ALREADY HAD AUTHORITY TO DO SO), BUT HE REITERATED VIEW THAT TO DO SO PUBLICLY AT THIS TIME WOULD ONLY CREATE QUOTE UNNECESSARY CONFUSION UNQUOTE WITH POSTPONEMENT IMPERIAL VISIT. HE SUGGESTED THAT IF INVITATION NOT RECONFIRMED IN SOME MANNER PRIOR TO PM VISIT, PM WOULD PROBABLY DO SO PERSONALLY WHEN HE MEETS WITH PRESIDENT.

7. I SHOULD ADD THAT I FIND OKAWARA'S EXPLANATION OF BACKGROUND AND INTENT OF OHIRA'S STATEMENT ENTIRELY PLAUSIBLE AND UNDERSTANDABLE WITHIN JAPANESE CONTEXT. SEVERAL MEMBERS OF FOREIGN OFFICE HAVE EXPRESSED TO ME THEIR DISMAY OVER IMPLICATION OF HALLORAN ARTICLE, A DISMAY WHICH I AM SURE OHIRA SHARES. HE MIGHT HAVE PHRASED HIS ANSWERS MORE GRACEFULLY, BUT I AM CONFIDENT HIS INTENTION WAS TO AVOID FURTHER CONTENTION AND POSSIBLE EMBARRASSMENT TO U.S.

8. RE PARA 2 ABOVE, WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED WHETHER WE AGREEABLE TO POSTPONE ANNOUNCEMENT UNTIL ON OR AFTER MAY 7 AND, IF SO, WHAT DATE WE PROPOSE.

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